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ABSTRACT

This collection of essays focuses on issues in bilingual education. First, Elizabeth Flynn examines different kinds of bilingual programs; efforts made towards cultural pluralism in a number of countries; national benefits to be derived from bilingualism; the needs of American ethnic groups, new immigrants, and foreign students; and the pros and cons of bilingual instruction as an alternative to foreign language instruction. Next, Alma Flor Ada presents a humanistic view of language as an aspect of individual and social identity, demonstrating the psychological ties of first language, its role in cognitive development, and the value of maintaining an oral tradition while encouraging literacy. Then, Gabriela Pisano examines training programs for bilingual/bicultural teacher aides in California's community colleges and their articulation with 4-year college programs; cites three major program modes currently in existence; and emphasizes the need for uniformity in program development. Next, Donald Scott considers the impact of Southern Asian immigration on California community colleges and the special problems faced by these groups. He discusses the staffing, teaching and training methods used within English as a Second Language programs that can facilitate immigrants' transition into American life. Finally, a historical perspective on bilingual education is provied by Hilda Hernandez, who reviews the experience of German and Cuban immigrants. (KL)

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FOCUS ON BILINGUAL EDUCATION

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Donald S. Mayo
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IN THIS ISSUE:

4 Something to Think About: THE DEBATE ON BILINGUAL EDUCATION
by Elizabeth Flynn

14 Guest Essay: CONSIDERATIONS ON THE INCORPORATION OF LITERACY TO TRADITIONAL ORAL CULTURES
by Alma Flor Ada

18 Grabbing the Greased Pig: ARTICULATION OF BILINGUAL/BICULTURAL CURRICULA IN CALIFORNIA COMMUNITY COLLEGES
by Gabriela Pisano

23 By the Thousands: THE NEW INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY COLLEGE STUDENT
by Donald H. Scott

33 PARALLELS IN THE HISTORY OF AMERICAN BILINGUAL EDUCATION
by Hilda Hernandez

Something To Think About:
THE DEBATE ON BILINGUAL EDUCATION

by Elizabeth Flynn

A humanities educator and ESL teacher looks at the debate now going on across the nation, and presents an overview of the bilingual education issue from several perspectives. Dr. Flynn is a member of the Interdisciplinary Studies in Letters and Science teaching team at Chabot College. --DSM

The debate on bilingual education seems to run to extremes. There are those who believe that every proposal for extending bilingual programs is either a subversive plot or a ploy for power. On the other side of the debate are speakers and writers who see bilingual education as the solution to every problem in the schools and who believe that any caution about it originates in racism. This polarization is unfortunate because bilingual education offers some very hopeful possibilities, and may even be necessary if the nation is to fulfill its commitments at home and abroad. What is necessary is language planning,[1] the building of a national system of goals in language instruction consistent with the national character. Within such a plan, the strengths and weaknesses of bilingual education can be evaluated without resort to emotionally laden arguments.

National Needs

If we look at bilingualism and bilingual education in the context of national language needs and obligations, we shall be aware that the United States needs more bilingual individuals to meet its international commitments; at the domestic level, many bilingual citizens need more language instruction. Bilingual education is one of the ways in which the nation's schools can meet both its needs and its obligations. How can we maximize the contribution that bilingual education can make and for what kind of students is it most appropriate? There are still many unknowns about this system, especially about its effect on students. There are also real problems in financing and administering such programs. But in the interests of the nation it must have a fair chance.

Definitions

Bilingual education is foreign language instruction in which the language is not merely the product of instruction but the medium for instruction. Hence, students are taught some subjects in their native language and some in the target language. The core curriculum is sometimes taught in both languages. In bilingual/bicultural education, the teacher is expected to represent or belong to the culture of the target language, in addition to teaching it.[2] There are different kinds and degrees of bilingual education, and most people in the field would

[1] The term language is sometimes used to mean deliberate planning for change in language dominance or distribution in education or in the nation. Here, however, the term is used to mean deliberate study or increase in awarness by a large segment of the population in order to make intelligent choices.

[2] The system in which children learn each others' languages is called "reciprocal bilingual" education. For definition of common terms see: Marda Woodbury, *Selecting Materials for Instruction: Subject Areas and Implementation.* Littleton, Colorado: Libraries Unlimited, 1980, pp. 198-199.

argue in addition that the character, even of each kind, varies with the intention of the program and with the attitude of the majority language community towards the minority group language.

Kinds of Programs

Three kinds of programs can be singled out: remedial, transitional, and maintenance. A *remedial* program is one in which the minority group language is not considered the primary language of instruction; any instruction given in that language is merely to help the students catch up. *Transitional* instruction in a bilingual system gives more weight to the native language of the students but only up until such time as they are able to make a full switch to the accepted dominant language of their geographical area. *Maintenance* bilingual instruction gives equal weight to both languages. This is the form which arouses talk about cultural pluralism and brings forth fears and stereotypes. Maintenance education in two languages is the form usually chosen when a minority group wishes to maintain and bolster its own traditions and cultures, or to maintain a separate identity from the mainstream. The choice can be motivated by religious values, as in the Yeshivas, or by political values, as in Gaelic instruction in the Republic of Ireland. But maintenance bilingual education has been practiced in the United States before, without seriously disrupting life in the community and there is nothing intrinsically political in it.[3]

Confusion

Some of the debate about bilingual instruction springs from confusion about which of these kinds of instruction is at stake. Those who most adamantly oppose bilingualism are usually thinking of the strongest case, maintenance education, when the school may actually be offering no more than remedial or transitional instruction. Those who are most concerned with the failures of minority group students may, on the other hand, want a higher commitment on the part of the school to value the culture of the student in order to offset the demoralizing effects of minority group membership.

Bilingualism is not so infrequent an occurence in the world as most Americans would like to believe and, in most countries, bilingualism in itself does not taint one's national identity or bring suspicion of disloyalty. Most nations of the world have a higher proportion of bilingual citizens than does the United States, and foreign visitors here are sometimes shocked at how few Americans know a second language.

Nor is bilingual education an anomaly or even an innovation in the world at large. During the 1960's and 1970's through all of the American continents, North, Central, and South, there was a very lively surge of interest in bilingual education, which one observer likened to the turning toward vernacular language and away from Latin as a language of instruction during the Renaissance.[4]

[3] For an opposite view see Bernard Spolsky and Robert L. Cooper, editors, *Frontiers of Bilingual Education.* Newbury House: Rowley Massachusetts, 1977 p. 8.

"...it is, I believe, much rarer for a linguistic outcome to be the basic motivation for a bilingual program. For the linguist, and a few other language romantics, the maintenance or revival of a language is a suffuciently important value in itself. For most of those concerned, however, language serves a secondary role. ..."

[4] Rudolph C. Troike and Nancy Modiano, *Proceedings of the First Inter-American Conference on Bilingual Education.* Center for Applied Linguistics; Arlington, Virginia, 1975 p. iii.

Canada now has a government program fostering education in Inuit and Indian languages. Mexico has taken steps to educate its Indian population in bilingual schools, reversing an earlier trend favoring Spanish-only instruction. Bolivia is a very nearly bilingual country, with Quechua, the Indian language as the unofficial majority language. In this turning towards bilingual instruction, the United States has roughly kept pace with its neighbors to the North and to the South, but is probably not in the forefront. If any disparity exists, it would probably be fairest to say that the United States lags behind in the actual delivery of programs compared with its neighbors to the North and South.

Cultural Pluralism

Beyond the Americas, many nations offer bilingual education to indigenous peoples or make available the options of cultural pluralism where the population is ethically diverse. Fewer nations offer bilingual education to immigrants, although several European nations have been experimenting with it in recent years as a response to the problems of the children of Gastarbeiter. These systems, for example, the work with children of Turkish transient workers in Switzerland, might be compared with proposals for the bilingual education of migrant farmworkers' children in the West.

The United States itself has never been a monolingual country. In New Mexico, the state constitution is written in English and Spanish, and Spanish is an official language. Spanish was also once an official language in California. There have always been Native American inhabitants who spoke exotic tongues and immigrants bringing their own speech patterns. But many Americans have thought of their country as an English speaking nation and the belief has been more important than the reality.

Destiny

The drive towards monolingual English speaking America is intimately bound into the destiny of a nation of immigrants, and it may have been a necessity for the country. It was a necessity as well for the individual seeking citizenship to learn English in order to survive. In a world where "just off the boat" was a pejorative term, many an immigrant child abandoned the language of his parents or regarded it with shame and did his best to assimilate. Was monolingualism a sign of acceptance? Well then, he or she would be monolingual. If the emotional price was high, the choice was at least a voluntary one, and the benefits were considered worth the price.

The rule for immigrants was "When in Rome, do as the Romans do." There may be reasons why this is necessary in an immigrant nation, at least administrative reasons, and perhaps others. This also has been the customary expectation in most countries of the world which accept immigrants. Among the three nations with the largest annual immigration, Israel, Australia and the United States, the trend has been one official language. In the States, the strong drive toward monolingualism allowed the building of a national sense of identity and seemed to assure the loyalty of the newer citizens or of their children. The classic cases of language diversity within national boundaries are, of course, India and Israel, both of which found that governing in many languages was too cumbersome to be practical, that the sheer duplication of Government documents

in many, many languages slowed the government to ineffectuality. Israel chose Hebrew as its official language. India, which is not an immigrant nation, found itself with so much language diversity that it could not carry on communication with a national government in any one language without prejudice against civil servants or other groups. For that reason, India at one time governed and educated in English. At present, it recognizes fourteen official languages.

The case of India may be instructive as a caution against language diversity, especially in the schools. One UNESCO report estimated that the cost of educating India's people, who have over 1000 mother-tongues, could absorb three-fourths of the total revenue of the state and national budgets. Thus, in order to sustain mother-tongue instruction, Indian educators have had to choose major language groups and exclude others.[5] (The United States is currently trying to give equal benefits of instruction to all children, especially in the early grades; teachers may have to make some difficult decisions, just as Indian schools have had to do.)

Russian Model

If we look for examples of nations successfully managing education in many languages and living successfully with cultural pluralism, the examples are few. The linguistic policies of the Soviet Union are a model both of accepting linguistic diversity and of strong central organization. Our own policy towards Native Americans looks shameful by comparison. Many, many language and ethnic groups are contained within the Soviet Union and each area is governed in its own language; Russian has not been imposed and rights of linguistic minorites to be educated in their own language are respected. Liaison with authorities in Moscow does not seem to be a problem. But for reasons probably unrelated to these linguistic policies, the Soviet Union is usually not chosen as a homeland by potential immigrants and, presumably, an immigrant would have to be educated in one of the existing regional languages rather than in some other language of his/her choice. The fact that the same policies are not followed in countries accepting immigration, suggests that there may be serious reasons for the way "monolingual America" has evolved.

The United States Constitution does not specify any language as official for the nation. The choice was decided by various European wars and by early immigration. The norm through most of the history of the United States has been that voluntary immigrants took it upon themselves to learn the language of their adopted country. But the United States now finds itself in a new position in the world, worried about its prestige abroad and battling to maintain leadership in trade and diplomacy. It may be time to take a fresh look at national language habits and policies. Specifically, there has been some increase lately in the government's acknowledgement that knowlege of languages may be in the national interest.

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[5] In a speech given in 1961 the President of India pointed out that a mother tongue policy "is feasible only if the linguistic group is of an appreciable size and forms a compact region. The financial and other implications of accepting such a demand can be easily perceived. In every well defined linguistic region of India, small numbers of persons speaking other languages are to be found. If separate arrangements have to be made in each school, in each college, and in each university of that region for teaching of the children of all these different linguistic groups, the cost would be colossal."

Rajendra Prassad, Speech at the Convocation of Osruania University August 30, 1961. *The Unity of India* (Ministry of Information and Broadcasting 1961. Julian Briantiffen Dublin and H.G. Widdowson, *Language in Education: The Problem in Commonwealth Africa and the Indo-Pakistan Sub-Continent.* Oxford University: Oxford Press pp. 13-15, 1968.

President's Commission

One conclusion of the Report of the President's Commission on Foreign Language and International Studies counsels that "We must increase our specialized international analytic and linguistic skills so that future crises will not find us ill-prepared as was the case with recent situations in Iran, Yemen, Ethiopia and Angola."[6]

In fact, the language of the President's Commission leaves no doubt about the situation:

"Americans' incompetence in foreign languages is nothing short of scandalous, and it is becoming worse.[7]

The report links our language needs very clearly to our position in the world. "Effective leadership in international affairs, both in government and in the private sector, requires well-trained and experienced experts. And in a democratic society like ours, leadership is paralyzed without a well-informed public that embraces all our citizens. But the hard and brutal fact is that our programs and institutions for education and training for foreign language and international understanding are both currently inadequate and actually falling further behind.[8]

If the language of the report of the President's commission is strong, it is intentionally so. It is attempting to evoke a response, which we hope it will achieve.

As early as 1952, John Foster Dulles warned, "The United States today carries new responsibilities in many quarters of the globe, and we are at a serious disadvantage because of the difficulty of finding persons who can deal with the foreign language problem.[9]

And in the same government publication that published Dulles' advice, William Parker warned: ..."a marked increase in both the quantity and quality of foreign language instruction is today essential to America's welfare, ..."[10]

Listeners at the Western Regional Hearing of the President's Commission on Foreign Language Instruction were given two examples of our national ineptitude in language. At the time of the fall of the Shah in Iran, only one reporter from the Western world was conversant in Farsi. That one reporter was a Canadian married to an Iranian woman. No other reporters from Western Europe or in the United States knew the languge. Apropos of Vietnam, a government employee estimated that if, at the time of the conflict, the United States had had a total pool of 500 persons in the entire United States able to speak the language, it

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[6] James A. Perkins, Chairman. *Strength through Wisdom: A Critique of U.S. Capability.* A Report to the President from the President's Commission on Foreign Language and International Studies. U.S. Government Printing Office: Washington, D.C., November 1979, p. 69.

[7] Perkins, p. 5.

[8] Perkins, p. 1.

[9] William R. Parker, *The National Interest and Foreign Language: A Discussion Guide and Work Paper for Citizen Consultations* initiated by the U.S. National Commission for UNESCO, U.S. Department of State. Preliminary Edition. U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., April, 1954 p. 4.

[10] Parker, p. iii.

might have recruited from that number enough workers to make a difference in the course of the war.

World Trade

The business community may also be waking up to realize the importance of language for competition in world trade. There is some reason to suppose that inability to compete with Japanese in trade is related to America's reluctance to study foreign languages and cultures.[11]

From these few examples, we may conjure up a different picture of the American position in the world than we are accustomed to. The American tourist or businessman who could wander through the world expecting others to know his language has usually been seen as exercising *dominance,* which may well be true. But the other side of this coin is total *dependence,* for we are dependent on others to learn our language and interpret their cultures for us. We are in a mental isolationist world although our government does not, at present, follow an isolationist foreign policy. We have contacts with the world around us but always through the prism of our language.

Time for Change

Perhaps it is time for a change, and that change deserves some thought. The present controversy about bilingual education is triggered by immigration, by court decisions and by frantic school systems trying to meet daily demands. Not having been challenged before, the United States does not participate actively in language planning, as do countries like India or Israel. If the country were to undertake language planning, what groups would it have to plan for the education of? What problems must a language policy deal with?

Monolingual Speakers

Most Americans are monolingual speakers of English. Although they have the option of studying a foreign language in school, most choose not to take the option. When they do study a language, it is likely to be Latin, French, German or Spanish, a rather limited choice. Graduate schools have, in the past, required reading knowledge of a foreign language but even that requirement has eroded during recent years.[12]

Unlike European students, who encounter language diversity every day, American students do not "need" foreign language instruction, or do not perceive themselves as needing it. How can they be encouraged to undertake foreign language instruction? Not many plans have been forthcoming to encourage language awareness in the schools, but a new spirit of competitiveness in the business community might have some effect.

Bilingual instruction is another possibility. One merit of bilingual education is that it works well when native speakers of English are paired with native

[11] There are 10,000 English-speaking business representatives from Japan currently studying the U.S. market. In Japan, there are some 900 American businessmen, very few of whom know Japanese.

[12] Emma Burkmaier, "Research on Teaching Foreign Languages." Chapter 41 in *Second Handbook of Research on Teaching.* Project of the American Educational Research Association. Rand McNally: Chicago, 1973, p. 7. For special problems of language instruction in two-year colleges, see Chapters 5, 6, and 7 in: Renate A. Schulz, *Options for Undergraduate Foreign Language Programs: Four Year and Two Year Colleges.* Modern Language Association, New York: 1979.

speakers of other languages. Both together then learn their subjects in both languages. The speakers of foreign languages avoid being segregated and speakers of English are exposed to language instruction. Some elementary schools in California are now following this plan successfully.

Non Immigrant Bilinguals

Another important part of any national policy must be consideration for those ethnic groups which, though not immigrants within historical times, are either bilingual or monolingual in a language other than English. Here we must include the Native American population, the Eskimos, some Hawaiians and the Hispanic population whose ancestors resided within the current boundaries of the United States before Statehood or territorial acquisition — the people who were the "welcoming committee" when the first immigrants arrived.

Disenfranchised Americans

These are today among the most dispirited and most disenfranchised of Americans. They may honestly be considered victims of history, for great western migrations of the last century not only deprived these peoples of their land but of their living cultures and often of their means of livelihood. In some of these groups the incidence of alcoholism, unemployment, even suicide, is extremely high. Language problems result in low school achievements, high drop out rates and alienation from the world of work. School achievement levels for Spanish and Native American students are the lowest of any minority groups.[13] Toward the Native American, the government has always acknowledged a special kind of obligation by assuming responsibility for education under the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The education that the government undertook to provide usually turned out to be "moral education," and this education was undertaken in English. Even in the 1970's, bilingual education was practiced only in that small percentage of the schools under control of the tribes. How effective was the education which the Federal government provided? Not very effective, by any of the usual standards of evaluation, such as reading level, school drop-out rates and achievement scores. Federal laws now mandate bilingual and bilingual/bicultural education programs for such populations. It will be interesting to watch results of the new policies.

Hispanics

Hispanic Americans are another large group who, although they may not be immigrants nor the descendants of immigrants, are bilingual or monolingual in a language other than English. Newspaper accounts of migrations from Cuba or Mexico bring to the public mind a picture of Spanish-speaking recent arrivals in need of special services or slipping across the border without papers, but we know there was a Spanish-speaking population in the Western States area before the arrival of large numbers of English-speaking Americans, the "Yankees."

The Puerto Rican population in New York also has an image of foreignness, although these people are United States citizens and not, in fact, immigrants. Their citizenship was conferred on them by territorial annexation and by no

[13] See Troike, Rudolph C., and Nancy Modiano, Editors, *The Proceedings of the First Inter-American Conference on Bilingual Education.* Center for Applied Linguistics, 1975, p. 228.

choice on their part.[14] These Spanish speaking citizens are mentioned here to dispel a misconception that clouds the issue of bilingual education. In this nation of immigrants, foreign speech has been a sign of recency of arrival and has marked the bearer for lower status.

The Question

One popular misconception about bilingual programs is that they are for recent arrivals who "don't even want to learn English." If other immigrants could learn English, it is said, why can't these people? One answer is that some of the people we have in mind are not immigrants at all and that justice and a sense of history demand a totally different way of looking at their problems. If we distinguish, only theoretically, between the pre-Yankee inhabitant and the recent voluntary immigrant, we can see that some of the concern about bilingual instruction is unwarranted. We know full well that it is impossible to make a distinction in practice, either in federal allocations or in individual schools or classrooms, between the child of recent immigrants and the child whose family have been Americans, though non-English speaking, for generations. But we can ask the question whether the obligation of the government toward its indigenous bilingual population is deeper and more binding than that toward recent and voluntary immigrants.

Eskimo, Native Americans and Hispanic American peoples acquired citizenship as a result of active expansion by the United States. In the case of the immigrant, a person or family has chosen to relocate and knows in advance that he and his children will have to make adjustments. Just as we expect the immigrant to assume responsibility for his actions, we may expect the government to assume responsibility for its actions, and in the colonial wars of Nineteenth and the early Twentieth Century, the United States was an active party.

The Recent Immigrant

The traditional solution for the foreign born immigrant has been assimilation into an English speaking culture, sometimes with the aid of instruction in English. That this is still the favorite recourse, is attested by the vitality of language instruction in the adult schools. Many immigrant groups have continued their native traditions, however, in churches, clubs, newspapers, and neighborhood customs. Where a population receives fresh immigrants from time to time, foreign language skills have shown a remarkable vitality; in some cases into the sixth generation. Also, in foreign language enclaves, there are likely to be passive bilinguals, those who do not speak a second language but who understand it. If we count these peoples among the language resources of the nation, the richness and diversity is immense, because almost every nation on earth has sent some of its offspring to the United States. There are, for example, lively communities speaking Norwegian in New York, and tens of thousands of Czech speakers in Texas. Should some of these language groups be nurtured in foreign language or bilingual instruction? Should steps be taken to offset the assimilation

[14] Puerto Rico was ceded to the United States by Spain in 1898. U.S. citizenship was extended to Puerto Ricans in 1917.

process, to preserve cultural pluralism? The limits to what can be done are set only by budget and talent available.

Insights

The study of these peoples, descendants of earlier immigrants, might provide us with some insights into our present dilemmas. The viable foreign language communities within the United States usually date back to a great wave of immigration from Europe that began in the middle of the last century and continued into this one. These peoples are supposed to represent the "melting pot," but as we have seen, they are not always totally assimilated. Many of the ethnic groups are still political forces, for example, in cities in the East and Middle West. But we speak as if assimilation were complete and most educators believe that the schools were the primary agent of assimilation. They expect the schools to exercise a similar degree of power with a later wave of immigrants. But there is little historical evidence that the schools did the job they are given credit for. Historians are skeptical, and point instead to employment and other means of social integration. Before we launch enormous resources into the schools, we might inquire as to what results we expect and whether the school can in fact deliver those results.

Non Voluntary Immigrants

We might mention here one other group in the population, the American Black, whose ancestors were "immigrants" but not of their own free-will. Over a span of centuries, they were deprived of their native language and excluded from job advancement. Today, Black students have low achievment rates in school, although not as low as Hispanics and Native Americas. Their situation is relevant because of financial considerations. One problem about bilingual programs is that they are expensive. Sometimes limitations of budget impose restrictions on funds available for black students. Any overall plan for language development must assure that in a time of shrinking funds for education, no group in the population suffers unduly.

The Foreign Visa Student

The United States has probably given little thought to the education of foreign students in this country as requiring a policy. There are reasons why the country and its schools should think in those terms, and there are other modern and powerful nations which do plan for instruction of foreigners. The Soviet Union, for example, treats the education of foreign visa students as an important part of its world mission. Foreign students in Moscow are commonly offered free housing and tuition - and, of course, language study. The most common origin of these students is Africa. If we were to search for reasons for the generosity of the Soviet Union towards these students, the political benefits of fostering young, talented people from developing nations comes to mind readily.

Contrast

We see another attitude toward language for foreigners among the French. France provides training in French abroad through the Alliance Francais and regards this as an important part of its diplomatic effort. The language is seen as an important part of French culture — something of which the French are very proud, and which they believe will enhance their prestige in the world and ultimately firm diplomatic ties. The French government pays approximately one half of the costs of instruction in the Alliance Francais and the recipient pays the remainder.

If the Soviet Union's style of dealing with foreign students is a buyer's market, then the United States' pattern is a seller's market.

American institutions charge tuition, have entrance requirements and, we might add, occasionally have difficulty enforcing the requirement that the foreign visa student return home at the end of his schooling. The hosting and guiding of foreign students is managed by volunteers in this country and on these volunteer efforts depends much of the student's happiness. Although the United States is currently disillusioned by experience with Iranian students, foreign students must be mentioned here because they are part of a network of language ties between the United States and the rest of the world in trade, science, diplomacy and scholarship. At present, they are a disproportionately large part of that network because of American reluctance to study languages.[15]

If the groups enumerated above constitute the language populations of the United States, then a planning policy can readily distinguish between those groups most in need and those groups toward which the nation might look to fill its own need for individuals skilled in languages. The problem then becomes "how?"

Pros and Cons

Supposing that schools were to devote themselves to encouraging the study of languages as the President's Commission seems to wish and as the current situation of the nation seems to demand, and supposing that they should pinpoint geographical areas where funds should be expended on language instruction. Why should a district commit itself to bilingual instruction? The alternative would be foreign language instruction, of which English as a second language is just one sub-type. There are two objections against bilingual education, but still strong reasons for going ahead with caution: Simple foreign language instruction is less expensive and could avoid the burgeoning of educational bureaucracy which turns many teachers against bilingual programs in their schools. If foreign language instruction or ESL were combined with strong affirmative action policies in hiring, some of the benefits of both systems might be gained. Strong policies for hiring of minority teachers are still recent enough that we have probably not seen all they can do.

The second problem with bilingual education is that there are many unknowns about it. There is a real question, for example, whether introduction of a second language of instruction at the wrong age may not impede cognitive development rather than foster it.[16] There is a crucial question; indeed, all of the questions about bilingual educaion and cognitive development must be clarified before our society should give it its unqualified acceptance. Yet in spite of these very serious problems, many schools now have bilingual education programs and more will be established as more and more school districts comply with State and Federal mandates. Why should they do so when the results of research are still uncertain?

(Continued on page 32)

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[15] Proposal VI of the President's Commission Report advises: "Because foreign students trained in the U.S. often provide an indispensable contact in developing U.S. business relations abroad, state colleges and universities should keep tuition increases for foreign students in line with those of local American students." Perkins, p. 12.

[16] An enormous amount of research is underway on the relationship between cognitive growth and bilingualism. Theodore Andersson in "Philosophical Perspective on Bilingual Education" Spolsby, *Frontiers in Bilingual Education,* believes that the negative evidence slightly outweighs the positive at the moment. Research and methodology of teaching are very much in flux right now and improvements may be expected.

Guest Essay:

CONSIDERATIONS ON THE INCORPORATION OF LITERACY TO TRADITIONAL ORAL CULTURES

by Alma Flor Ada

An internationally reputed author, writer and teacher provides an informal, humanistic view of language as an aspect of individual and social identity. Dr. Ada, a Harvard Scholar and now Director of Doctoral Studies in Multicultural Education at the University of San Francisco, has taught also for Chabot and other community colleges. In this essay she shares some personal thoughts about literacy development and first language maintenance --key concerns in the dialog of bilingual/bicultural education. --DSM

The flaming red of the flowers of the *atbot de fuego*, the fragrance of the earth after the rain, the deepness of the ocean blue, the waking sounds of roosters in the morning, the flavors of mangos, guavas and *ates*, and even the names of places and people could very well mislead me to believe I had returned to my own island.* The openness of heart and generosity, the friendship and hospitality could even more corroborate this thought. But welcomed as I feel, and at home as I find myself it is imperative to acknowledge a fundamental difference: On my island, Cuba, as on the other islands of the Caribbean there is no living presence today of the people that once inhabited them, who created a culture of their own, and who, by sharing, and hoping and suffering and loving had — as people of all lands do — created a language all their own. A language once capable of expressing concepts and emotions and feelings, a language now dead with its only vestiges in the names of plants, food, and surviving toponyms, can only serve to awaken in the conscience the tragic awareness that even though it takes milleniums to create a language, it may well disappear in two or three generations. And once obliterated, nothing can bring it back to life again.

Perhaps the greatest man that my country, Cuba, has ever had, one of the most creative men in the history of the New World, of the Americas, José Marti, was keenly aware of the importance of language as the foundation for culture. Preoccupied by the overwhelming pressure of the United States' cultural and linguistic impact upon the rest of the Americas, Marti expressed a warning: "When a people loses its language," he wrote, "it also loses its identity." I would like to focus here on this thought from Marti.

Language and Culture

Language is the principle vehicle by which culture is both developed and transmitted. It develops as an integral part of a cultural reality, as a response to the particular world outlook of a given group of people and sustains that outlook. If the language disappears, the uniqueness of that optic disappears as well. Those who speak and know different languages are acutely aware of how

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* *The text of this first paragraph is printed without editorial change from its original language as an introduction to the essay for readers on Guam where the author was asked to address the question suggested in the title of this article. Later portions of the essay have been adapted for presentation here.*

those languages structure their societies to analyze, internalize and deal with reality differently. They know that to believe a culture will survive its language is erroneous. Individuals who propose to be representatives of a culture without speaking its language must be especially aware of this, and particularly conscious of the fact that they cannot be representatives in the true sense because they are only vicariously partaking of a culture that is being sustained and developed by a community that **does** speak the language. Experience has demonstrated that when all the members of a community stop using the language, the culture of that community disintegrates and ends up transformed into something else, with only vestiges of the original culture remaining. It is this kind of experience which may be seen in the history of the pre-Colombian inhabitants of the islands of the Caribbean.

Decisions Are Needed

Let us say, in other words, that a language lives in its speakers, and only in as much as they speak it. Educators in multilingual and evolving language communities are faced with the need to come up with methods for approaching curricular decisions regarding languages to be used in the classroom, the time to be allotted to each one, and the role that will be assigned to each. They are faced with the need to determine what they should propose to parents and the community at large as best for their children's education. To reach such decisions with good effect, it is necessary to take certain elements into consideration, among them that language is a human creation; it will be preserved so long as it is spoken. It is a legacy of multiple generations, created through a process of many centuries. It incorporates as a body the struggles, hopes, desires, anxieties, feelings and thoughts of a people. It may be forever lost in a few generations' time, and with it, the culture of the society which gave it birth, and lived by its use.

Now let us turn to the question of what language means to individuals. This will help us to understand why a sound educational policy must have as its first priority the upmost development of the child's first language.

Psychological Ties

The psychological ties of an individual to his or her first language are the strongest of ties. Most bilingual or multilingual persons will attest to the fact that, driven to strong emotions, the language of childhood — even if seldom used otherwise — will be the one to come out in exclamations as it would in prayers.

What this means is much deeper than just the implication that a first language is a 'natural' language. There is an unbreakable alliance implied in the identity expressed in a language. Young children in a multi-ethnic society, for example, when asked what they are, will many times respond, *"At home we speak Spanish"* (or Chinese, or Greek), and they will view their parents' identity in the context of the language they speak.

If we examine the sense of self-esteem experienced by an individual, in other words, we discover that the importance of the development of that first language, a first expression of his or her identity, is central to this experience.

Cognitive Development

Certainly the cognitive development of the child is strongly correlated with his or her linguistic development. Even though Piaget has shown us that a degree

of cognitive development free from linguistic dependence is possible, there is no question of the transcendental role that language plays in the transmission, acquisition, storage, and categorization of thought and knowledge. To guarantee sound cognitive development we must provide opportunities for linguistic growth. And this can hardly be obtained by supplanting one language with another and interrupting the growth process until mastery of a second language has been attained, nor by exposing the child to a limited degree of a language that is not expressive of his total environment. It is a bonus to know, however, that sound development of the first language will, on the other hand, then facilitate acquisition of a second.

Cultural Identity

We have seen, then, that both for the preservation of the language, and with it the culture and identity of a people, as well as for the benefit of individual self-esteem, pride and cognitive development, it is imperative to develop the first language.

Now I would add to the above what has been very well expressed by Bruce Garder, that perhaps the best reason for educating in a first language is that every society has the inalienable right of educating its children to its own image and in a language that will allow total communication with ancestors, grandparents and other relatives.

Plus Value

The fact that most linguistic skills are transferable becomes a plus value in this context. A person possessing the ability to reason, to organize thoughts, to categorize, to exemplify, to infer, to present ideas with clarity and precision and to avail himself or herself of the literary resources of language will be able to transfer these abilities, among many others, to the second language.

We do not teach children to read in the first language only because reading skills are transferable, however, or simply because they will be more successful as readers in the second language, but for many other reasons, including the development of self-identity and the preservation of culture. Likewise, sure as we are of the transferability of linguistic skills, it is not only this factor either which persuades us to this view. We advocate the development of first language because it is clear that by doing so we provide the child with a strong instrument for cognitive growth, for total communication with his or her culture and history and for the preservation and enhancement of identity.

No Panacea

Committed as I am to the development of literacy I do, however, want to insert a word of caution at this point. Reading, *per se*, is not a panacea for every kind of human and social linguistic need. Reading may be turned to — is unfortunately turned, many times, into a sterile process by which the mechanization attached to the learning process turns children into non-readers — not because they couldn't master the skills but because they simply did not want to. Even worse, it may be transformed into a process by which the critical aspects are kept to a minimum and children are taught simply to decode and follow directions and never really allowed to become a part of the creative aspect of reading as a dialoguing, liberating intellectual activity.

Oral Tradition

Finally, I would like to suggest a personal concern regarding the effect of a literacy process superimposed upon a traditional oral culture. It seems to me that insufficient thought has many times been given to the fact that, important as literacy may be as a social tool, it may also be destructive and detrimental to a society by eradicating the long-established oral tradition of such cultures.

It also seems to me that an alternative ought to be sought in which the acquisition of literacy could be an enriching rather than a supplanting activity.

I'm sustained in this conviction by an experience that I consider of great importance: I had the personal fortune and the honor of being introduced to a remarkable gentleman, Don Leonardo Tenorio of Talofofo, Guam, while residing on that island as a visiting professor at the University of Guam. Leonardo generously shared with me not only several old Spanish songs, but a very lengthy and detailed rendition of a medieval Spanish ballad. I asked him how had he learned this intricate version, which he surprisingly remembered to the most intricate detail, and found that he had learned it from a brother-in-law of his wife's uncle who had recited it to him after which he had copied and memorized it.

Supportive Skill

That old ballad will generate a lot of interest — once published as an article — for scholars specializing in that medieval period, of course. But for me, especially, this experience highlighted and supported my conviction that the incorporation of foreign, or "new" instruments — reading and writing in this case — to a culture as a supportive skill is a positive contribution to human society.

Don Leonardo listened to the ballad, then wrote it, then memorized it. The pages on which he copied the ballad - more than 80, he told me - have been long lost, but the ballad remains very much alive and enriched by his story telling ability to this day.

Reading and writing are excellent tools, and in most cases - as opposed .o individual story telling, better ways of preserving content. But there is no convincing reason or justification for literacy to supplant other abilities — those of listening, and telling, explaining and sharing through the spoken language that is so inherently a part of the oral culture.

Let Our Children Read

Let our children read and write — and first in their own mother tongue, if possible, so they will share the fullness of the cultural legacy which is theirs. Then let them read, and record, and describe — define and explain that legacy, fully appreciating not only their literary opportunities, but the importance and richness as well of the identity which is theirs — through the oral history they live and learn as a part of their life.

Grabbing The Greased Pig:
ARTICULATION OF BILINGUAL/BICULTURAL CURRICULA IN CALIFORNIA COMMUNITY COLLEGES

by Gabriela Pisano

A bilingual educator and college administrator offers insights into what she terms the "present dilemna" of providing bilingual/bicultural teachers for California while lacking a comprehesive articulation system for present programs. Dr. Pisano was Assistant Dean for Natural and Applied Sciences at Chabot College, and Coordinator for Bilingual Programs, when this article was written. She is now Dean of Instruction at the College of Alameda. --DSM

Perspectives

In 1976, concurrently with the Supreme Court decision of Lau Vs. Nichols,[1] the California Legislature expressed its commitment to providing equal education opportunities for children in the state who speak little or no English at all. The Chacon-Moscone Bilingual/Bicultural Education Act of 1976 required that "Each limited-English speaking pupil, enrolled in the California public school system in Kindergarten through grade 12, shall receive instruction in a language understandable to the pupil which recognizes the pupil's primary language and teaches the pupil English" (Education Code Section 52165).

In its analysis of the demand for bilingual teachers, the Commission estimated that in 1980 there was a need for between 13,000 and 18,000 bilingual teachers in the state.[2] Current supply of such teachers was estimated to be 7,350 or about half the number required To meet this demand, approximately 30 California Community Colleges established bilingual cross-cultural bilingual aide programs, articulating with four-year institutions, as career teacher ladder programs.

Obstacles

The path to successful completion of a bilingual/bicultural teacher ladder program, however, is fraught with obstacles and confusion. In fact it is miraculous that anyone manages to overcome them at all. The present structure of the articulation mode for bilingual/bicultural programs and the four-year institutions in California requires duplication of student work due to the lack of transferability of many courses offered at the community college level. An individual may even take a subject two or three times under different titles because there is no evaluation of performance and competencies in the ladder switch.

Loss of Credit

Community colleges in California articulate primarily with neighboring four-year State colleges and universities. There is no state-wide articulation, often

[1] The Supreme Court of the United States in Lau Vs. Nichols, (414 U.S. 563) held that to insure equality of treatment and meaningful education, persons with a primary language other than English must be taught in a language understandable to them.

[2] Figures rounded (Commission for teacher Preparation Report, 1978 p.2).

resulting in loss of credit for course work completed when a student moves from one location to another within the State, not only upward but also laterally, from one community college to another.

In addition to obtaining a degree, an individual must qualify for a Ryan credential[1] (issued by the state) to be eligible for employment with a public institution in California. Because of a lack of clear curricular guidelines leading to the attainment of this credential, a student may finish his or her program and still not be able to obtain it.

State of the Art

Perhaps the logical question at this point is: What are the colleges really doing, and what do these bilingual/bicultural teacher aide programs consist of at the Community College level? There seems to exist a pattern of categories among colleges offering these programs, and three major program modes emerge across the board: a) Language and linguistics, b) Social sciences and ethnicity, and the c) Bilingual/bicultural education mode.

Two Languages

Because a degree of competence is required in both the primary and secondary languages in order to qualify as a bilingual teacher, a strong component of the teacher aide curriculum deals with the attainment of both oral and written skills in two languages. This category includes such courses as bilingual communication skills, Spanish for Spanish speakers and English grammar and composition.

Further, to produce a bilingual/bicultural instructor, it is not enough simply to produce an individual proficient in two languages. An element of culture is also essential for the understanding and teaching of a differentiated population, culture meaning that complex whole which "includes knowledge, art, morals, law, customs, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society." (Tylor 1889, p. 1). This category includes also the Sociology of the Mexican-American Chicano culture, for example, and the bilingual/bicultural child.

The third component, and perhaps the most controversial one, has to do with teaching approaches. By mandate of the Ryan Commission the teaching of pedagogy is primarily a function of a four-year institution, although community colleges are allowed to address this topic in a limited way at a technician's level. Note, however, that in the majority of cases, teacher aides carry a major load of the instructional responsibility. This is primarily because of the lack of certificated bilingual/bicultural instructors cited earlier in this article.

This writer urges educators working with bilingual programs to consider the need to expose students in these courses to basic methodology, considering that most of them are already in the classroom performing as teacher aides. It is both unwise and unsound to have them wait until their third year (i.e. after transfer) to

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[1]In order to obtain a certificate of competence the applicant has to meet the following requirements:

a) Possession of a valid California teaching credential based upon a baccalaureate degree and student teaching.

b) Verification of ability to read, write, and communicate orally in the target language, and knowledge of the culture of the target population through an approval assessment process.

c) Verification of the ability to teach: the basic teaching authorization in English and a language other than English.

ARTICULATION OF BILINGUAL/BICULTURAL CAREER LADDER PROGRAM COURSES IN CALIFORNIA COMMUNITY COLLEGES TO STATE UNIVERSITIES

From:	To:	From:	To:	From:	To:
Fresno City College Long Beach City College Hartnell College	California State, Fresno California State, Long Beach California State, San Jose	Mt. San Antonio College Ohlone College	California State Poly Tech. Pomona California State, Hayward & San Jose	Palomar College San Diego City College	California State San Diego

COMMUNITY COLLEGE	CULTURAL CONTENT COURSES			COMMUNICATION SKILLS LANGUAGE/LINGUISTICS	MISCELLANEOUS
	SOCIAL SCIENCES	HISTORY	CREATIVE ARTS (MUSIC, ART, LITERATURE)		
FRESNO CITY COLLEGE			Cultural Studies - Chicano Lit	Contrastive Linguistics (in process) Spanish for Bilingual students	
HARTNELL COLLEGE	Meso-American Culture (elective)	Mexican American Hist.		Spanish 3, 4, 25	Intro to Bilingual Programs
LONG BEACH CITY COLLEGE	Sociology of Mexican-American Bilingual/Bicultural Child (Child Development)	History of Mexico History of Mexican-American History of the Americas	Intro to Mexican-American Lit.	Bilingual Oral Expression Spanish 1, 2 or 11* (*Spanish for Chicanos) Spanish 3 (emphasis on readings-Span./Amer.) Spanish 4 (emphasis on contemporary issues)	Intro to Bilingual/Bicultural Education TA in Bilingual/Bicultural Environment
MT. SAN ANTONIO COLLEGE	Mexican American in Contem. Society Minority Group Dynamics in American Government	History of Mexican-American	Intro to Folk & Ethnic Music History of Mexican American Art Contemporary Mexican-American Literature Spanish Literature (2)	Bilingual Linguistics Bilingual Communication Skills	Intro to Bilingual/Bicultural Education
OHLONE COLLEGE	Chicano Culture Institutions and "La Raza" Perspective Philosophy of the Chicana (2) Machismo in Contemp. Society Understanding Bilingual Child (2) Field World Study in Barrio	Chicano History	The Chicano and the Arts Intro to Mexican Culture through Music & Dance Chicano Lit Songs and Games for Bilingual Children Bilingual Children's Lit (Spanish emphasis)	Intermediate Spanish for Bilinguals Chicano Writing Reading and Bilingual Elementary Student (emphasis on psycho-linguistics)	Intro to Bilingual/Bicultural Education Field Work in Bilingual Survey of Bilingual Bibliographies and Materials
PALOMAR COLLEGE	Chicano & American Political System Bilingual Biculturalism		Chicano Lit (elective) Contemp. Mexican Lit (elective) Modern Lit of Latin-America (elective) Mexican & Chicano Folkloric Music	Advanced Spanish Spanish for BC student Bilingual Comm. Skills and materials Development Bilingual Systems Bilingual Linguistics	Beginning Chemistry for Bilingual/ Bicultural Students Intro to Bilingual Education
SAN DIEGO CITY COLLEGE	Chicano Studies 203 or 204			Spanish (2) Bilingual Systems Oral Communication Composition (2) (Emphasis on Chicano Literature)	

learn methodology. Some of these students may not continue to four-year institutions, and for this reason alone the burden of providing a well-rounded basic program rests with the community college. This category includes such course titles as Introduction to Bilingual/Bicultural Education, and Survey and Field Work in Bilingual/Bicultural Education, for example.

A chart of articulation agreement and course offerings of some representative programs from which these comments are drawn is included with this article for the reader's perusal, and should illustrate the diversity of design which is presently true of such programs across the state.

Grabbing The Greased Pig

Thus, like the challenge of grabbing a greased pig, the present dilemma centers around the need for producing competent bilingual/bicultural teachers in the state, while lacking a comprehensive articulation system for present programs. We are short-changing individuals who need to transfer laterally or upwardly by supporting duplication of effort and time. Something needs to be done about it.

No Simple Question

In all fairness, it is important to recognize that this is not a simple question; rather, it is a complex issue which will demand the best thinking we can give it, and soon. Certainly the alternatives are not simple. A state articulation program dictated from the department of education or the California Community College Chancellor's office, for example, presents just as many dilemmas as does the present inaction. Local autonomy, or the community colleges' history, has dictated programs that do not lend to articulation even within the system itself. The bilingual/bicultural teacher aide programs have most often evolved out of individual efforts under the aegis of different areas, departments, and agencies; under different sections and titles, at different locations, and the like. It would be extremely difficult to implement a state plan until some uniformity of programs is attained.

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By The Thousands:
THE NEW INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY COLLEGE STUDENT

by Donald H. Scott

A community college educator and trustee looks at the impact of South-East Asian students upon these institutions in California and shares insights gained from many years in both the classroom and the Board Room. --DSM

Thousands of people from the Pacific, lacking a knowledge of the American way of life and the English language, are coming to our community colleges in California to learn how to live, study and work in the United States. Local, state and federal agencies, as well as many volunteer service groups, are recruiting these new students and sending them to college.

The community colleges are suddenly facing new challenges to meet the needs of these students. What are their problems and what kinds of programs best meet their needs? What staffing, teaching and training methods are required to meet these new demands on our educational system? What can the colleges do to facilitate the transition of these people into American society?

Fall of Saigon

The fall of Saigon in April, 1975 forced a resettlement of Indochinese refugees escaping from the Hanoi government. What was at first a trickle has now become a flood as the result of international agreements in 1979 and federal government policies adopted in 1980. Of some 1,000,000 Indochinese refugees who have settled in other countries of the world, over 500,000 have come to the United States.

The New International Student

Between 35 and 40 percent of the U.S. share are found in California. This state now has some 190,000 Indochinese refugees. They have settled chiefly in or near the port cities from San Diego to San Francisco, with some in the San Joaquin valley area and the inland communities of southern California. Although the federal government's resettlement plans have placed them in every state of the Union, they range in numbers from less than 500 in Vermont to about 40,000 in Texas.

California, as one of the "sunbelt" states, promises to become even more attractive as these people from the tropics escape from the colder winters of the eastern states and seek warmer climates in "secondary migrations." It is estimated that 70 percent of these secondary migrations are to California.

Dr. Scott, a member of the Board of Trustees at Long Beach City College, was formerly an instructor of Spanish and political science on the LBCC faculty. His doctoral dissertation was concerned with teaching English as a foreign language in Mexico as an instrument of foreign policy. The following paper was presented at the annual conference of the California Community College Trustees in San Diego in May, 1981, and at the Pacific Region Seminar of the Association of Community College Trustees in Portland in June, 1981. He is a member of the CCJCA Commission on Instruction.

"The bounty of America is not unknown at the other end of the pipeline," said one observer. "They think they've found the cornucopia. The people write back to the camps (in Southeast Asia) and say, 'Here they send everyone — even lowly refugees from the hills of Laos — to college!' "

Open Door

The colleges they have in mind are the "open door" community colleges because of their ability to adapt their educational programs quickly and effectively to new situations. It is estimated from a review of the statistics available that between 10 and 20 percent of the Indochinese in a community where they have settled will be enrolled in a community college this year.

Among the refugees from Southeast Asia, the Vietnamese and Cambodians predominate, but there are also significant numbers of Laotians, Hmong, I Mien and ethnic Chinese from Vietnam as well as others. These peoples differ greatly from each other in terms of their native cultures, languages, educational backgrounds, work experience and aspirations.

These differences, combined with their historical rivalry in Southeast Asia, prompt them as well to gather together in separate national enclaves in American communities. They tend to submerge their differences in the classroom, but not to mix together in the community. Their local self-help associations, where they exist, are generally organized by nationality.

The Vietnamese and Cambodians, especially the younger people, tend to have the least difficulty in making adjustments to their new environments, while Lao and Hmong people, for example, and others from the northern mountains of Laos, who have lived a rural, often rustic life, appear to have had more cultural shock to deal with. These same people have in many instances needed special training in the use of tap water, drinking fountains, standard American toilets, health and child care, for example.

Other Problems

The Indochinese have faced other problems as they resettled in the American environment. Many of the first Vietnamese to arrive in 1975 and 1976, for example, were educated professionals who had worked with U.S. government agencies, spoke English, and wanted professional level jobs not available to them.

They found it difficult to adjust to less desirable or menial work in the United States. Wives often had to find work to help support their families, becoming somewhat "Americanized" in the process, damaging male egos, however, in a society that was traditionally male dominated. Family tensions developed, children lost respect for their fathers, and some family separations occurred.

There have been difficulties also in the communities in which they have settled. Hard working and diligent, they compete successfully with other minority groups in the labor market, for low cost housing and for education. Protected by federal legislation, they also compete for social services, including public health, mental health and welfare. Inevitably as new immigrants, they face a certain amount of animosity from the American public as they suddenly become highly visible in the community.

Violence and resentment have even occurred in a few densely settled enclaves of Indochinese, with some of the more pessimistic observers predicting an increase in crime and civil disturbances in communities having more unemployed minorities than the community can absorb. At least one community college, in cooperation with a consortium of police departments, has organized special training classes for the local officers and the Indochinese to promote better mutual understanding.

Cultural Attitudes

The cultural attitudes which the Southeast Asians bring to the classroom hold many surprises for American teachers. The Indochinese do not share the idealized, egalitarian and informal concepts of American students. Teachers and older persons in the Orient hold positions of great respect. This makes for good discipline in the classroom. There is virtually no willful disobedience.

Their political, social and religious traditions emphasize the individual's place in a hierarchical social structure. A person's honor lies in avoiding shame or embarrassment. They are very interested in learning, and evidence a tendency towards perfectionism that may even inhibit progress in the classroom.

Quaint Customs

And, for Americans, they have some quaint customs. Beginning students may give an Oriental bow to the teacher. They may hide their emotions, avoid saying "No" for fear of offending, or say "Yes" in response to a teacher's question whether or not they understand it.

They may avoid looking the teacher in the eye, which is "bad manners" in some places. Used to helping others, they may share answers on examinations and homework.

Academic Backgrounds

The Southeast Asians present a wide range of academic backgrounds and ability when they arrive in college classrooms. The children of some of the "first wave" of college educated Vietnamese to arrive in 1975 and 1976 are now earning a bachelor's degree at four-year institutions. The University of California reports that they are outperforming many other ethnic groups, especially in scientific and technical fields. The Vietnamese who arrived later have usually had some academic experience in elementary and secondary schools in their own country.

Other Southeast Asians, however, present a variety of problems to educators. The Cambodians, for example, generally a rural, agricultural people with a history of low annual per capital income, often have had no previous schooling and are non-literate in their own written language.

The more primitive Lao-Hmong and I Mien are most often pre-literates with no concept of a written language or even a fragmentary knowledge of formal education. They are unaccustomed to buildings, classrooms and group learning, much less the idea of books, and the most difficult to get started in school.

Common Problem

Regardless of their intellectual talents and their social, cultural and educational experience in the country of origin, the Southeast Asians share a common problem: all except the fortunate few with some education and previous contact

with Americans must learn a new language to succeed in the American educational and economic environment.

Teachers, on the other hand, often cannot cope with the problems of imparting knowledge to such students. Even regular teachers of English sometimes throw up their hands in defeat when confronted with students unskilled in English.

ESL

Fortunately, something is being done about it. For more than four decades, often with federal government assistance, American academic institutions have been developing methods for teaching foreign speaking peoples English as a Second Language (ESL). This academic discipline, however, is still "new" in the community colleges.

Usually labelled ESL, English as a Second Language is not the same as remedial English for native American speakers and writers. Nor is it a "bilingual-bicultural" program with instruction in two languages, or a foreign language as we traditionally think of foreign language instruction (e.g., French or Spanish, in our schools). These approaches are impossible when there is a multitude of languages represented in a single classroom. A typical ESL program may include students who are native speakers of as many as 30 different languages. They may come from the Middle East, Africa, Europe, Asia, Mexico and the rest of Latin America. The Indochinese nowadays constitute the majority in many community college ESL classes.

English as a Second Language, as taught in the United States in an English speaking environment, gives students as much immersion as possible in English in the classroom and in the communty. ESL in the classroom concentrates on two-way communication in English, both oral and written and involves four basic components — listening, speaking, reading and writing.

Special Breed

Teachers of English as a Second Language are a special breed. They include foreign language teachers and English teachers more interested in language than in literature. Most have had training in linguistics. Some have degrees in ESL or certificates in teaching English as a Second Language. The English Language Institute at the University of Michigan was an early pioneer in this field, but this training can now be obtained at many major four-year institutions in California.

Learning a new language as an adult and becoming fluent in it is a long, difficult process. Most ESL teachers have had first-hand personal experience in learning and using a foreign language as the result of travel, study, work or residence abroad. Their experience enables them to relate easily to foreign students.

ESL teachers are among the most dedicated and hard-working in the community college system. They have taken special training to get into the program. They often write their own course materials, text books and placement examinations to determine student ability and progress in English.

Recently, the ESL teachers in California have formed their own professional association — California Association of Teachers of English to Speakers of

Other Languages (CATESOL for short). They now hold regular in-service meetings and conferences, and offer their services as consultants to colleges wishing to start ESL programs.

Programs and courses in English as a Second Language can generally be classified academically in three major categories depending on student ability, progress and educational objectives: baccalaureate level transfer, general academic non-transfer and specialized vocational non-transfer offerings.

The transfer course was developed several decades ago in a few American universities and colleges to meet the special needs of foreign students with deficiencies in English who were studying for a bachelor's or higher degree. It is generally a full-year course which emphasizes pronunciation, advanced English grammar, reading college level essays, imitative writing, precis writing and original expository essays on some aspect of American life, culture, science or technology.

A major objective of the transfer course is preparation for upper division work through experience in dealing with concepts, principles and abstractions, as well as the cultural and rhetorical aspects of the English language. Reading and writing are emphasized and essays are usually required every week.

Somewhat more recently, many community colleges have developed extensive non-transfer programs in ESL at a lower level of difficulty. The more highly developed programs include, on the beginning level, a sequence of six non-credit courses, twelve hours per week for nine weeks each of an "English for Everyday" variety. The emphasis is on listening and speaking and the vocabulary deals with everyday life situations. They may be repeated until mastered.

Fluency in English

These are followed on the intermediate level by as many as five non-transfer credit courses aimed at "Attaining Fluency in English." They are also comprised of twelve hours of study per week for nine weeks each. These courses maintain a balance of listening, speaking, reading and writing. The materials and activities covered include role playing, oral presentations, reading of newspapers, expository writing, business and personal communications, the subtleties of intonation, and of formal and informal language.

Students may also take, concurrently with the beginning and intermediate courses, supplementary "electives" three hours per week for nine weeks. These are intensive courses specializing in a single aspect of the language such as handwriting, spelling, reading, conversation, pronunciation, composition, English through typing, test taking and vocabulary building.

Standardized tests administered by ESL teachers determine the entry level for students in the series of six beginning courses, the five intermediate courses and the more advanced transfer course. Progress through the program is regulated by a system of prerequisites. The most proficient and academically talented students may take standard college freshman transfer courses, including the transfer course in ESL, which can apply toward a bachelor's degree. The others, according to their ability, may earn a community college degree or a high school diploma.

A third type of program is vocational ESL. It was developed only recently in response to federal government funding through the Indochinese Refugee Assistance Program — IRAP for short. Enrollment is limited by the federal funding law to Indochinese refugees with specific vocational objectives. In California, these federal funds are distributed by the Department of Social Services, a state agency. No local matching funds are required.

IRAP

The basic course structure in the IRAP program is similar to that of the regular academic non-transfer program but with vocational terminology and vocabulary. "Vocational English for Beginning ESL Students" for example (VESL), consists of a series of five non-credit courses fifteen hours per week for nine weeks. The first three courses are designed especially for pre-literates, those unacquainted with written language. After completing these, students can go to specialized credit courses, ten hours per week for nine weeks each, for four half-semesters. The vocabulary in these courses is geared to work-day job language in specialized occupational areas.

Areas covered by these courses include such subjects as general occupational English, machine shop, automotive trades, welding, blue print reading, upholstery, needle trades, electronics, clerical skills, business data processing, technical mathematics, child care, health technologies, medical technologies, social work, bilingual instructional aide training and citizenship courses.

Students may take these specialized VESL courses while enrolled concurrently in regular shop or vocational courses. They may be placed in special sections for Indochinese or in regular classes with American students, depending on enrollments. Regular ESL teachers are present during the lecture portions of shop courses. Bilingual Indochinese instructional aides help students in their own language with the concepts involved, and the ESL instructor supplies the needed vocabulary.

IRAP programs are found in about ten community colleges in California. Most of these are in the coastal areas from San Francisco to San Diego. The most successful have developed a continuous, integrated program on a single college site to meet the needs of the Indochinese from the "boat" (an airplane nowadays) to a job.

The staff for one fully developed college IRAP program consists of a full-time manager with expertise in ESL, a curriculum specialist, two counselors, a placement officer, 20 full-time and 18 part-time ESL instructors, about 45 bilingual aides, nine counseling assistants and four clerks. This program expects to serve, in 1981-1982, some 1500 students in training plus 1000 in various assessment and job placement activities.

The major services developed for the Indochinese refugees consist of testing by ESL teachers for ability in English, assessment by counselors of job skills and career preferences, assignment to appropriate types, and levels, of ESL or VESL classes, tutorial assistance in vocational classes and job assessment and placement.

Job Placements

Can these students be placed in jobs? Yes, indeed. So far, in the first two years of the IRAP program, they have successfully passed stiff state licensing requirements for nurses aides and medical technicians, and have been placed in jobs in general shops, machine shops, welding, small businesses, a fish cannery and public social service positions. A small manufacturing firm is currently negotiating with one college to contract for special classes in ESL for its Indochinese employees.

Their drive to succeed makes them desirable employees. They are found working in fast food shops, service stations, restaurants, grocery stores, in janitorial work and positions where unskilled labor is needed. Some have established businesses of their own.

Management Problems

What are the special management problems in this complex program? First of all, department heads in ESL programs need extra clerical assistance to maintain a detailed card file history for each individual student. These files show test results, placement and progress in the program, repetition of courses, successful completion, departure from the program and referrals to other agencies.

Dropouts are rare. The Indochinese are highly motivated to learn English — to the point where dual enrollments in day, evening and IRAP classes may occur. Dropouts are replaced from a waiting list, for this is a growing and impacted program, at least in some colleges in California.

Routine computerized registration procedures in use for other students have proved to be unsatisfactory for the Indochinese. Each student is registered individually by ESL instructors in the classroom to assure instruction at the proper level. Registration data are then reported to the department head so that opportunities for others to enroll may be fairly distributed.

The recent rapid growth in the number of Indochinese in many communities has affected opportunities for other non-English speaking students to take ESL classes. The Southeast Asians seem to get up early to sign-up on the first day of registration and often fill the regular ESL classes.

To meet the rapidly shifting demands on the curriculum, administrators have had to recruit new properly training instructors of English as a Second Language. An alternative is to provide retraining of the present foreign language staff or selected members of the English department. In either case, additional funding is required.

Residence Requirements

State residence requirements may also affect enrollment patterns. The Indochinese must have a "green card" issued by the U.S. Immigration Service proving legal residence to avoid tuition charges, in order to enter all but the federally funded IRAP courses. Arrangements need to be made for them to obtain appropriate residence documents from the U.S.I.S. Volunteer agencies, often affiliated with church groups, are often willing to help with this activity.

The more successful programs have recognized the need for the colleges to establish close cooperation with other community and government agencies, business and industry, church and service groups, and Southeast Asian community associations. A college advisory committee composed of representatives

of these organizations is essential to both determine the needs of the community and for referrals for assistance and employment.

Some Antipathy

Some members of the community and even some members of the college staff may have some antipathy toward foreigners, especially non-Europeans. Some staff members may even fear a decline in academic standards or fail to understand the need to know more about these new students. "Why should *we* learn about *them*? *They* should be learning about *us*!"

College faculty members, specialists in their own subjects, are generally uninformed about the Indochinese way of life and the problems these people face in adjusting to life in California. Special in-service training for colleges with large numbers of Indochinese may be required to help certificated staff make adjustments and develop new teaching strategies.

Community Understanding

Administrators may also need to find ways to help their communities better understand the nature of the challenges faced by their colleges. The community may need to be reminded that immigration to the United States is controlled by the federal government, that state and local governments are prevented by the U.S. Constitution from restricting freedom of movement into their areas, and that the community colleges, with their "open door" policies, are unable and unwilling to exclude those who need an education and who meet residence, age and other requirements that apply to all.

College Policies

Current college policies may need to be re-examined to determine whether provision is made for a system of planning, evaluation and review of programs affecting these new international students. They have arrived so recently on the scene that many colleges have no stated policy with regard to them. A review of college efforts to locate funds through special state and federal grants recently made available should be a matter of major concern to college boards.

Community college trustees may also be able to help with funding problems. Politically elected by their communities, trustees are generally acquainted with their state legislators and Congressmen. Trustee contacts in Sacramento and in Washington can help lawmakers understand the need for special funding to support community college programs designed to assist these new immigrants in becoming successful, productive residents.

It is especially important for the colleges to keep their representatives in Washington fully informed about the impact of federal policies on the local colleges. Present federal programs frequently fail to cover some of the hidden costs. Federal legislation, for example, provides assistance to the Indochinese only for their first 36 months of residence.

When federal funding expires or is unavailable for certain portions of the program, general state and community college funds become vulnerable. In today's conservative fiscal climate, this can all too easily impact upon other college programs.

More Coming

Eventually, the pool of people who wish to leave Southeast Asia and come to the United States will dry up. But not any time soon, according to the U.S. Department of State. It is estimated there are still some 350,000 Indochinese in refugee camps in Southeast Asia who seek to come here. All predictions indicate that many community colleges will have large Indochinese populations in their areas for many years to come.

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CALL FOR PAPERS

The Chabot College Journal invites professional educators and others to submit papers for publication. The journal is a "sharing" publication, dedicated to the enhancement of higher education — most especially at the community college level.

Both scholarly and general papers are invited, as well as essays, commentaries, book reviews and other writings relevant to the community college. The journal seeks to provide an opportunity especially for California community college educators to participate in the dialog which is vital to the educational process.

Papers may be of any length, typewritten, and double-spaced. Authors should include a brief, recent biographical descriptive statement and black-and-white photo with manuscripts. Submit papers to: Editor, The Chabot College Journal, 25555 Hesperian Blvd., Hayward, CA 94545.

THE DEBATE ON BILINGUAL EDUCATION

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE 13)

English - "the Foreign Language"

The most cogent educational reason is the schools' failure with Native American and Spanish speaking children. In both of these minority groups, children are already studying all of their school subjects in a foreign language. If there are negative results from bilingual schooling, these children are already suffering them in an English-speaking classroom. If there are positive results to be gained from studying at least part of the curriculum in one's native language, bilingual instruction can bring it to these children. The failure of the present instructional system with these children on every index by which education can be measured certainly warrants the introduction of experimentation. Because the link between schooling and "Americanization" on social integration is still unproven, we must pursue social equality by other means as well and not expect schools to work in a vacuum.

For the other language populations mentioned above, various choices can be made. Obviously, some populations need more attention and some less, but all might be studied in line with a goal of actively encouraging language instruction.

At present, federal and state governments mandate bilingual and bilingual/bicultural education for certain school populations, especially those receiving federal funds. In certain cases, bilingual education is necessary in grades K-6; this is equivalent to a transitional program. Where the law demands bilingual programs for grades K-12, we have in effect a maintenance program. The decision of who gets bilingual services is made entirely on the basis of the number of children speaking that language in the school or in the district. Such a policy seems to be necessary, for the Supreme Courts' decision in the Lau case, that every child had an absolute right to an education regardless of language limitations, is difficult to implement. In cities that are centers of immigrantion and in university towns, there are likely to be children of so many different language origins that management of the classroom becomes a problem.

Arbitrary but Fair

The decision to favor the larger groups is arbitrary but probably as fair as can be achieved. It is similar in principle to the choice made in India. But the law determines the minimum level of services, not the optimum. If we were to bear in mind the extrememly low interest in second language learning in the United States generally, and the special needs of the groups described above, would we plan our goals for language instruction differently?

Other Questions

In this brief article I have attempted to point out some important areas for thought which should help to dramatize the very broad scope of what otherwise becomes, too easily, a single polarized issue. I have not insisted upon answers, although some may have emerged. Most importantly, I have attempted to leave the reader with sufficient information and incentive to accept the urgent need to consider at least one remaining question: in light of present realities and the historial experience of this country as a nation of both immigrant and indigenous, language-differentiated peoples, will we continue to demand language learning only of minority groups as if it were simply a remedial subject or will we begin to realize that knowledge of a second language is an important part of belonging to the modern world for everyone? Something to think about.

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PARALLELS IN THE HISTORY OF AMERICAN BILINGUAL EDUCATION

by Hilda Hernandez

Dr. Hernandez suggests some historical perspectives in the American experience with bilingual education which reach back more than a century, and are a part of the fabric of this country's growth as a nation of immigrants. Formerly with Stanford University, Hilda Hernandez has taught for Chabot College and is now associated with California State University, Chico. --DSM

Germans and Cubans make strange bedfellows, but in the history of bilingual education in the United States, striking parallels can be drawn between these two immigrant groups. There are two basic ways in which they are similar: (1) The position of German and Cuban immigrants in their respective communities was enhanced by advantageous demographic, economic, social and cultural circumstances which were important factors in their ability to influence American education; and (2) The Germans in the nineteenth century and the Cubans in the last half of the twentieth were both able to successfully introduce their native languages into the public school system.

There are important similarities in the nature of the immigrant groups themselves and their status in their respective communities. The Germans and Cubans were educated and skilled immigrant groups which settled in large numbers in selected areas and established themselves solidly in the economy of the community.

German Immigrants

During the nineteenth century, German immigrants represented a significant proportion of the population of the United States. For decades the Germans constituted the largest non-English-speaking immigrant group in the nation, and between 1820 and 1910, six million arrived in the United States.[1] In 1850, they represented 75 percent of the foreign born non-English-speaking population, and even in 1880, when 3.4 million non-English-speaking inhabitants were foreign born, 60 percent were German.[2] Many Germans settled in large language islands. In Ohio, for example, those who migrated were attracted to cities like Cincinnati and Cleveland. The 1910 census indicated that statewide, 673,800 persons were first or second generation Germans. Over half of the population of Cincinnati was of German descent that year, with 35 percent of the inhabitants listed as first or second generation Germans.[3]

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[1] Edwin H. Zeydel, "The Teaching of German in the United States from Colonial Times to the Present," in *Reports of Surveys and Studies in the Teaching of Modern Foreign Languages* (New York: Modern Language Association of America, 1961), p. 294.

[2] Heinz Kloss, *The American Bilingual Tradition* (Rowley: Newbury House Publishers, Inc., 1977), p. 82.

[3] Kloss, p. 152.

So significant was the special position accorded the Germans because of their numerical, political and economic strength that government documents, legislative laws and official announcements were printed in their native language in many areas at both the local and state levels. In characterizing the German population of St. Louis in 1855, the assistant superintendent of schools stated the following: "They form a considerable portion of our active business and manufacturing community, holding a great amount of the wealth of our city, and contributing largely to its revenues".[4] Although the German population was only one-fourth of the city's total, it was a skilled and educated minority able to effectively wield economic power in excess of its proportionate strength.

The Germans had the further advantage of coming from a country whose educational system was highly regarded in the United States. Respected educators such as Horace Mann and Calvin E. Stowe commended German education. Stowe's study of the Prussion school system in 1836 was very favorable, and many recommendations made in his report were later adopted in Ohio, Pennsylvania and other parts of the nation.[5]

Emigrant Schools

The prevailing system of education in Germany was also deemed superior by the better educated Germans, most notably those who came after the unsuccessful German revolutions of 1830 and 1848. Efforts were made to establish similar institutions in America, and numerous German private schools were created and supported in cities with large German populations during the second and third quarters of the nineteenth century. Several years prior to the use of the native language in the public schools of Cincinnati, for example, German private schools, such as the German Protestant "Emigrant School," were in existence and flourishing.[6] In 1860, the Germans in St. Louis preferred their own schools to the city's by a ratio of four to one. At that time, there were thirty-eight private schools, almost all parochial, and use of the native language in these institutions was customary, for even the teachers frequently lacked adequate control of English.[7] The German private schools waned in importance only after the common schools improved in quality and yielded to pressure from the German community to make the teaching of German part of the curriculum.

Cuban Refugees

In many ways the situation of the Cubans in Dade County is similar to that of the German immigrants in the Midwest. Almost ten percent of the Cuban population left their homeland after the Cuban Revolution, and approximately 650,000 of the 800,000 Cuban exiles entered the United States.[8] In 1959, less than five percent of the 900,000 residents of Dade County were Spanish-speaking, and

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[4] Twenty-First Annual Report of the Board of Directors of the St. Louis Public Schools for the Year Ending August 1, 1875.

[5] Zeydel, p. 293.

[6] Zeydel, p. 293.

[7] Troen, Selwyn K., *The Public and the Schools: Shaping the St. Louis School System, 1838-1925* (Columbus, Mo.: University of Missouri Press, 1975), p. 36.

[8] William Francis Mackey and Von Nieda Beebe, *Bilingual Schools for a Bicultural Community* (Rowley: Newbury House Publishers, Inc., 1977) p. 24.

half of these were Cuban; by the mid-seventies the Cuban population represented over one-third of the area's 1½ million people.[9] The majority of Cuban refugees were urban, predominantly middle-class and unilingual.

During the fifteen-year period following the revolution, the Cuban population in Miami evolved from a group of refugees on temporary resident status to a community of American citizens of Cuban culture and tradition.[10] That the Cubans were in Miami to stay is demonstrated by the fact that on reaching the mid-seventies they owned one-third of the businesses in town.[11] As a group, the Cubans returned in taxes five times the amount received in public assistance programs during the sixties.[12] In *Bilingual Schools for a Bicultural Community,* William Francis Mackey and Von Nieda Beebe observe that the success of the Cubans in business and the professions and its benefit to the economy of the area have had a positive effect on the public's opinion of bilingual schooling: "The economic power of the Spanish language in the Miami area paralleled the growth of bilingual programs in the public schools during the 1960's and stimulated further growth of these programs in the seventies. This gain in power was primarily a result of the continued influx of Cuban refugees and their industriousness."[13]

Second Official Language

As with the Germans decades before, public policy established the practice of providing governmental services in the native language as well as in English. The impact of the Cubans in the Miami area was so great that in April, 1973, the county's top elected officials declared Dade County a bilingual and bicultural community and made Spanish the area's second official language.[14]

With respect to education, the Cubans, like the Germans before them, transpanted the customs of their past. The first wave of emigres brought many wealthy and well-educated Cubans. As in Cuba, those who could afford it enrolled their children in private Catholic schools. Many sectarian schools were founded during the first decade of resettlement, and by the mid-seventies there were still 30 Cuban-operated private schools serving about 15,000 students.[15] Just as in the German schools, teaching was often exclusively in the native language except for classes in English as a Second Language, and only later, with the increased use of English did these schools become bilingual in character.[16] For both the Germans and the Cubans, use of the native language in private schools preceded the developoment of bilingualism in the public school system.

The Germans and Cubans enjoy a special place in the history of American education, because they are examples of ethnic groups which have been successful in introducing their native language into the public school system. Comparison of the programs implemented in German and Cuban communities reveals that the

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[9] Mackey and Beebe, p. 28.

[10] Mackey and Beebe, p. 39.

[11] Mackey and Beebe, p. 30.

[12] Mackey and Beebe, p. 40.

[13] Mackey and Beebe, pp. 136, 154.

[14] Mackey and Beebe, p. 137.

[15] Mackey and Beebe, p. 45.

[16] Mackey and Beebe, p. 45.

programs of yesteryear dealt with many of the same problems and issues faced by educators today, i.e., language maintenance, funding and opposition to bilingual education from other segments of the community.

Language Maintenance

A fundamental tenet of the programs past and present has been the goal of language maintenance, and the Germans and Cubans were equally devoted to the ideal of keeping their respective languages alive. In *The Chicago Schools*, Mary J. Herrick observes that the German immigrants wanted their children to grow up knowing how to speak their native language: "The Germans wanted their children to know English, but they did not want them to lose the German language and the traditions of German culture."[17] The Germans went to great lengths to introduce and promote the use of their native language as a means of instruction in the public schools. In cities like St. Louis, they exercised considerable political power to obtain favorable school laws, and at the local level they were often accused of exerting influence over school boards and superintendents.[18]

Cubans, on the other hand, were equally adamant about the retention of Spanish. When Mackey and Beebe describe the desires of Spanish-speaking parents in Miami, they seem to echo Herrick's remarks about the Germans: "They wanted their children to learn the English language and the cultural background of North Americans; but they insisted that, at the same time, they did not want their children to lose their ability to communicate in the Spanish language or to forget their own cultural heritage."[19]

Language and Tradition

In order to achieve cultural and linguistic maintenance, both groups strived for the integration of their native language and traditions into the public school system. The tendency in the Midwest was not to establish German public schools, but rather German-English schools. Even in Cincinnati, where separate institutions were first established, a bilingual program was soon incorporated into the regular grade schools. In *The American Bilingual Tradition,* Heinz Kloss observes that "from the beginning we find conscious actions which, disregarding rare exceptions, never aspired to a purely German school but at best to a bilingual school patterned after the Cincinnati and Baltimore example."[20] Through the years the role of German in the schools underwent considerable change. In the beginning, it was a language of instruction in the bilingual schools; then it was taught as a subject from the first grade on and eventually only in the upper grades of the elementary schools.[21] Efforts were made to convince English-speaking citizens of the value of learning a second language. Arguments cited included the linguistic kinship of English and German, its scholarly, economic and cultural value, and the advantages of initiating the study of a foreign laguage at an early age.[22]

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[17] Mary Herrick, *The Chicago Schools* (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1971), p. 61.

[18] Charles Hart Handschin, *The Teaching of Modern Languages in the United States,* United States Bureau of Education, Bulletin No. 3 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1913), pp. 67-68.

[19] Mackey and Beebe, p. 65.

[20] Kloss, p. 90.

[21] Kloss, p. 90.

[22] "School Report: Chicago, 1900," (Chicago: H. Anderson, Printers, 1900), pp. 235-241.

Billion Dollar Market

The creators of the biligual program in Dade County envisioned a program similar to the German-English schools in two important ways. First, the public school curriculum was changed to accommodate use of both English and the native language. The goal in Miami was to create a program which would achieve linguistic and cultural maintenance without ethnic segregation. Great care was taken to ensure full participation on the part of English-speaking children. This concern is reflected in the selection of Coral Way School as a model because of its uniquely balanced student population: half Cuban and half non-Spanish speaking. Educators fashioned a two-way school for both Cubans and Americans, one in which "each would become integrated into the culture of the other while maintaining his own language and cultural identity."[23] In Coral Way students are taught in their vernacular and their second language, studying in classes organized on the basis of language proficiency and then mixed in selected activities during the day. As the students acquire language skills and progress from grade one through grade six, the amount of time spent in combined classes also increases. A great deal of variety in organization and structure exists among the different elementary and secondary schools offering bilingual education programs in Dade County. However, all of the programs are designed to offer native and English-speaking students the opportunity to become bilingual and bicultural through the use of two languages as tools of instruction. Second, English-speaking students are still encouraged to acquire a second language for many of the traditional reasons, only now with renewed emphasis upon its economic value. Meeting the needs of the Spanish-speaking population is a billion dollar market, and in many businesses, large and small, bilingualism has become a definite asset, even a prerequisite, for employment in the Miami area.[24]

Higher Salaries

Bilingual education is and always has been expensive. A century ago, the cost of operating bilingual German schools surpassed that of the common school. In Ohio, this was due in part to a policy which established longer terms for the English and German schools and set "considerably" higher salaries for the bilingual teachers.[25] The St. Louis school board, facing the budgetary burden of additional teachers of German, tried to save the then impressive sum of $20,000 annually by placing German instruction in the hands of the regular staff; suffice it to say that the plan was never fully implemented.[26] Identical financial considerations were given in San Francisco when the decision was made to curtail its program in the 1880's.[27] Records for the program of German instruction in Indianapolis indicate that the total cost of the program in the district schools in 1908 was $28,142.58, with the approximate expenditure per student of $4.33.[28] Staffing figures were not available for 1908, but in the following year the pro-

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[23] Kloss, p. XII.

[24] Mackey and Beebe, p. 135.

[25] Handschin, pp. 70, 74.

[26] Zeydel, p. 296.

[27] Zeydel, p. 296.

[28] Theodore Andersson, *Foreign Language in the Elementary School* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1969), p. 76.

gram required forty-two grade school teachers plus additional high school personnel for an enrollment of 7,496 students.[29] In addition, administrative positions were frequently created to supervise the programs, and this added to their cost. Some districts, for example, established German departments and then appointed "supervising principals" or "directors" to head them.

Even by today's standards, the program in Dade County has been very expensive. Federal funding for the Dade County Public Schools from 1960 to 1975 reached $141,811,621 for the program in grades one through twelve.[30] This figure does not even include local contributions nor the three-year grant awarded by the Ford Foundation in 1963. The basic cost of the bilingual program for the 1975-76 school year alone was $7,500,000.[31] Just as in the earlier programs, the bilingual school organization in Florida has generated professionals at the district level, and in Dade County this has resulted in the creation of an entire Department of Bilingual Programs with its corresponding project director, coordinators and other administrative assistants. In short, a considerable expenditure is involved in maintaining an extensive, countywide bilingual program.

Arguments

Many of the basic arguments used by opponents of bilingual education have remained unchanged through the years. Some of the more common contentions center around the view that bilingual education is "un-American" and that it burdens children unnecessarily. During the nineteenth century, citizens saw the public schools as an agent of assimilation; i.e., an institution through which the "homogeneity of the population" was to be achieved. Resistance stemmed in part from the fear that the inculcation of "true democratic principles" would be hampered if foreign languages were brought into the public system. The state superintendent of education in Minnesota from 1886 to 1888 expressed these concerns in the following report:

> Particular attention is called to the fact that in some of the schools of the State which are supported by Americans the language used is un-American and carries with it traditions and associations connected with different countries, and so the schools fail to harmonize the feelings and ideas of foreign-born parents with those of their adopted country. They do not require that knowledge of our patriots and statesmen, of the formation of our Government and its subsequent history, which inspires a worthy pride in American citizenship and a love for American institutions.[32]

This sentiment was reinforced by members of other minority ethnic groups who were jealous and resentful of the favored position of the Germans and protested by pointing to "their unwillingness in any way to neglect the English language of their new homeland."[33]

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[29] Andersson, p. 76.

[30] Mackey and Beebe, p. 141.

[31] Mackey and Beebe, p. 143.

[32] Handschin, p. 67.

[33] Bessie Pierce, *A History of Chicago* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1937), p. 24.

A strikingly similar stance was taken by some English-speaking residents in the Miami area. Claiming that bilingual education was "anti-American," they held that the "melting pot" philosophy had been a "stabilizing force" in the United States and that "the exclusive use of English for instructional purposes in the public schools was one of the crucial factors in the success of the Americanization process."[34]

It is interesting to note that the same individuals who advocate exclusive use of English in teaching the immigrant child express concern over the effects of learning a second language on English-speaking children. Opponents of the study of German in grade school maintained that "children in the early years of their training had quite enough to learn in their English studies without burdening them with a second language."[35] Their contemporary counterparts in Florida still see bilingualism as "a mysterious, essentially alien process."[36] For the most part this group consists of monolingual speakers of English who lack experience with another language and question whether "a person can 'think' equally well in two languages."[37] Apparently, they see no contradiction in recommending a second language for one group of children and not for another.

Shining Achievement

It seems particularly fitting to close with a tribute which Heinz Kloss bestows upon the accomplishments of the best German public school programs of the past century. His words are especially appropriate because they could also be used to describe the ongoing bilingual experiment in Dade County, Florida:

> The bilingual public school systems of Cincinnati, Baltimore, and Indianapolis were shining achievements of which the Anglo-Americans could be as proud as their German-American brethren — achievements in the three dimensions of linguistic maintenance efforts, of bicultural education, and of minority rights."[38]

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[34] Mackey and Beebe, p. 135.

[35] Andersson, p. 79.

[36] Mackey and Beebe, p. 135.

[37] Mackey and Beebe, p. 135.

[38] Theodore Andersson and Mildred Boyer, *Bilingual Schooling in the United States*, Vol. II (Austin: Southwest Educational Development Laboratory, 1969), p. 128.

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40